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A Nation in Bondage

and

Stupendous Issues

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THE CATHEDRAL OF MEXICO CITY,

Built by the Indians, During the Vireinal Period. Gardens Recently Rebuilt by the Constitutionalista Government.

TO the Mexican the Mexican problem is not one of diplomatic adjudication. He says there are certain things that cannot to be arbitrated, and one of them is the right of one man to keep another man in slavery by means of contracts in which the slave had no hand in the making.

To the Mexican—that is to almost all of the Mexicans who are not in conspiracy with American and Europeans—the trouble is that by some hook or crook everything worth owning in Mexico is owned by foreigners.

The Mexicans own nothing. They get nothing. They work all the year round, and at the end of that time they are no better off than they were at the beginning.

Often they are worse off, for they are in debt at the company store. Millions and millions of wealth go annually from the country as a result of their labors but none of it stays at home. The men who get the wealth have for the most part never set foot in Mexico. Many of them have never invested more than a few thousand dollars and that has gone in bribes or corruption to high officials.

For such an insignificant investment the foreigner got control of the country. He owned everything worth owning—the railroads, mines, oil wells, gold and silver mines, plantations, etc. He even owned the government itself up to 1910, which was thrown in for good measure. With the government he obtained control of taxation which he used to exempt the things he owned from taxation. That was the trick Lord Cowdray played in the oil business. Mexico lost all local taxes on 5,000,000 acres of oil land and all her export duties as well.

THE SLAVERY OF THE PEONS

When the peon went to the store to spend the little that he was given for his labor he spent it at the company store owned by a Frenchman or a German. When he wanted a loan for the planting or the harvesting of his crops he only secured it at usurious interest. Along with these economic conditions that are not so complex but that even an ignorant Mexican can understand them, the foreigner gave him an oppressive, cruel and murderous government. He gave him Diaz; he gave him Huerta; he would like to call them back again, for Mexico was so "peaceful," "contented" and "happy" then.

That is what the foreigner wants in Mexico to-day. He does not disguise it. He honestly believes that it was good for Mexico to be owned by outside capital and the people to be kept in ignorance and poverty for their own good.

The fact is that Mexico was just like France prior to the French Revolution, only the seigneurs of Mexico did not have the virtue of being Mexican. They lived abroad instead of at Mexico City. They gambled the rents wrung from their Mexican serfs, not only on the gaming table but on the stock exchange as well. They maintained their power by force of arms and no blithering sentimentality was permitted to get in the way of standing trouble makers up against the wall or of shooting up a whole village when the peons tried to assert their ancestral right to the common lands which had come to them for generations, but which Diaz gave away to his financial favorites who need cheap labor for their mines and who could secure it only by depriving the peasants of their own land so that they would have to accept the wages offered them or starve.

The Mexicans want to get back their land which has been taken from them by bribery or machine guns. And they are doing it. They want to get back their oil wells, gold and silver mines and the tremendously rich copper deposits of the North, and they are doing it.

The Mexicans want to work for themselves rather than for an impersonal foreign corporation. They want to be home owners rather than tenants. They want to own a little piece of land to cultivate and pass on to their children. They want economic independence and all that economic independence implies.

And they are doing this by ending the concessions and grants which they as well as all the world knows were for the most part obtained by graft. They are taxing the great plantations, the mines and the oil wells. They are requiring the two and a half billions of foreign-owned property to contribute to the support of the state. They are taking back the common lands. They are giving the people homes. They are ending franchises, grants and privileges, and they are doing it without that diplomatic finesse that financial imperialism, backed by their diplomatic corps and navy, they are accustomed to.

DIAZ AND HIS "DEVELOPMENT" PROGRAM

Mexico has been the happy hunting ground of the adventurer since the days of Spanish conquest. Egypt, Morocco, Tunis, South Africa do not compare with it as a treasure box. Government has always meant merely an organized system of robbery

and exploitation. It gave the people nothing, it took everything the people had. It taxed them in the most ruthless ways; it spent the taxes for private purposes and profit. The courts were merely another instrument for enforcing serfdom along with the army. Each government in turn played in with the church, the big plantation owners and the foreign adventurers and all of them together constituted a "system" for working the peons in their mines, upon their estates, at starvation wages, and when they were unruly the government was always at the command of the big interests to enforce order with a hireling army with machine guns.

Diaz reduced the process to a scientific system. He termed it "developing the country." The development meant slavery to the people and the giving away of everything of value in the country. There were friends, relatives and favorites to be seen. They had to be seen or nothing came through. In the end the Mexicans were dispossessed of one of the richest spots on the earth's surface, and Americans, English, French and German concession hunters possessed grants and privileges conservatively estimated to be worth many billions of dollars.

The concession seekers flocked to Mexico with the coming of Diaz to power in 1876. He owed them everything for they made him master of Mexico. They enjoyed 34 years of almost uninterrupted freedom until the flight of Diaz to Paris in 1910.

U. S. THE BULWARK OF CONCESSIONAIRES

During all these years the United States was unhappily the bulwark of the exploiting interests. The Mexican people feared American intervention more than anything else and this fear kept them from revolution. And the colossal grants and subsidies for railroads, mines, oil, gold, silver, copper and land, judiciously distributed, identified the United States State Department, the Senate, the press and the people of the United States with Diaz, no matter what his outrages might be.

Neither the financiers of Europe nor the foreign offices of the European powers can teach the American concession seeker much in the game of high finance, the use of money for bribery and corruption or the turning of government from public to private ends. The years which followed the Civil War taught railroad builders, franchise seekers, land grabbers and bankers all of the tricks of that trade. And they carried into Mexico all that they had learned in the building of the Pacific railway, in the corruption of our cities and states, in the distribution of privileges among members of Congress and officials in high places.

The United States during the years that followed the Civil War was a training school for the exploitation of Mexico which like ripe fruit waited only to be picked with the accession of Diaz to power in the year of our Centennial. The trans-Pacific land grabs were first duplicated. Diaz was under obligation to the American financier for placing him in power. He paid his first debts by concessions for the building of two railroad lines from the Texas border to Mexico City. Land was given for the right of way together with a subsidy of $14,000 per mile on level country and $35,000 a mile in rough country. This was enough in itself to construct the road, especially as forced labor was supplied the contractors at fifty cents a day. Growing out of these concessions Americans now hold securities in the railroads of nearly $700,000,000.

$150,000,000 PLUNDER

Just as the financiers from the United States exploited the Mexican railroads so Great Britain enjoyed a monopoly of exploitation of the country's credit. All of the devices learned in Egypt were repeated. There was nothing that the French had devised in Morocco and Tunis that was not duplicated. The national debt was inflated by the recognition of Spanish claims for reimbursement for expenditures made in the Spanish campaign against the insurgents in the War of Independence and other claims for confiscated estates of the holy orders. French claims were made for some trifling damages to French citizens and property. In a short time the indebtedness of the country was increased from $20,000,000 to $191,000,000, of which approximately $150,000,000 represented speculation and the plunder of speculators and private interests which succeeded in having their claims recognized.

The concession seekers were insatiable. The oil is owned by American and British syndicates. In 1900 the country produced no oil at all. Now it stands next to the United States and Russia. The Waters-Pierce Company is the largest American oil producing company in Mexico. Their control is contested by the English firm of Pearson, now Lord Cowdray. Pearson had built a railroad in Mexico and secured the friendship of Diaz. He obtained concessions for oil and pipe lines and railroads. The British Admiralty saw in Mexico a source of oil for fuel —a source not likely to fail in war time. Pearson was elevated to Lord Cowdray in 1910, just when oil was beginning to come into use as fuel for war ships. The British and American oil interests have ever been hostile, and in a price-cutting war Cowdray gained the upper hand just as Diaz fell from power. Statistics show that his companies control 58 per cent. of the oil output of Mexico. American interests supplanted Cowdray

in official circles under the Madero government, but when Huerta came into power the tables were again turned and Cowdray was again recognized. According to his own statements he gave Huerta support and even subscribed to three per cent. of the loan floated by him.

TITANS OF OIL INDUSTRY GRAPPLE

Back of the revolutions that have harassed Mexico for the past six years is the sinister hand of the American and British oil interest which have a complete monopoly of the oil in that country. How colossal the stake involved is and how cheap a control of the government would be at any price is seen in the fact that the oil in the Tampico district alone amounts to 5,000,000 acres while the total oil land operated in the United States amounts to but 8,300,000 acres. The capacity of a single refinery of Lord Cowdray is 3,000,000 barrels a year.

The mineral resources are almost completely under foreign ownership. Americans dominate large areas. The capital employed in the industry is about $647,000,000, of which about $500,000,000 is American. The Northern states of Mexico are crowded with American miners. The Guggenheims now operate a dozen mines and have a number of great smelters. There are a dozen other great copper interests, of which Phelps Dodge and the Green Cananea are the largest. The capital of the copper mines alone runs into the hundreds of millions. American capital controls electric light and power; it controls the street railway lines of the cities. It has opened up gold and silver mines. The Mexican rubber industry is largely American. Ex-Senator Aldrich was greatly interested in the Continental Rubber Company which largely controls this industry. Great stretches of timber land are also owned, while plantations of hundreds of thousands of acres have been acquired in the Northern states by American owners. The American Consul, Marion Letcher, of Chihuahua, who has had long experience in Mexico as a mining engineer, places the American investments in Mexico in 1912 at $1,057,770,000 as against a total ownership of property by all of the Mexicans of but $793,187,000.

CAPITAL OF MEXICO IS N. Y., N. Y.

The capital of Mexico is not Mexico City, it is New York.

What would the people of America think if all of the wealth in America were owned by Germans and practically all of our 100,000,000 people were day laborers under German foremen

with no hope of anything better for their children? Germany would be no more popular in America that the United States is in Mexico.

The French have large interests in Mexico. According to the New York "Nation," French interests amount to more than a billion dollars, although this is far in excess of the estimates of Consul Letcher who places them at but $143,446,000. However, the latter estimate does not include all forms of wealth. The French are large owners of government bonds, banks, railroad securities, as well as mills and factories. The banks are largely in French hands, as are the department stores of the cities. Mexicans own more wealth than foreigners in very few and insignificant industries such as breweries and retail stores. The total of foreign investments in Mexico is placed by Consul Letcher at two and a half billion dollars, or three times the amount of wealth owned by the Mexicans of the entire country.

Here are the invisible forces that want intervention. They work like sappers underground. They are influential with the press. They have representatives of the press on the ground who distort news and make the public opinion of the United States. They have convinced a large part of the American people that the only way to secure peace in Mexico is to send the army and the navy to invade the country. They are so influential with the diplomatic service of the several powers that they may be said to almost control it and as this is the only official source of information they mislead their respective governments. During the recent war scare when intervention seemed imminent, the Mexican news at Washington was so poisoned that it was impossible to even secure a hearing for Carranza.

WILL AMERICA COUNTENANCE SLAVERY AGAIN?

There are billions at stake. They have been largely obtained by fraud and corruption. The titles are tainted with bribery. Securities are almost all watered out of all semblance to the actual investment. The properties earn enormous dividends. Intervention would enrich a handful of Americans by hundreds of millions of dollars, possibly. For intervention means that the status quo of Diaz would be confirmed. His grants would be validated. The country would again be made subject to the concessionaires and speculators. America, not Mexico, would own Mexico. It would become a feudatory nation kept in subjection by the American army which would become a private police force for the banking and speculating interests of Wall Street.

"Firmness" and a "strong foreign policy," the protection of American property and American people is merely the persiflage of diplomacy. It is part of the jargon of high finance. It means that American boys will be taken from the "home" and sent to the wilds of Mexico for years to subjugate the country; to police bandits, to hunt down revolutionists like our own Washington, Jefferson, Hancock, Adams who offered their lives for the right of our people to pursue life, liberty and happiness in their own way.

STUPENDOUS ISSUES

THE EVIDENCE

CHAPTER I

Roman Catholic Prelates in the United States are fighting the Administration, aided by the Republican Organization.

At Boston, Massachusetts, on November 15th, 1914, Cardinal O'Connell in an address to the Federation of Roman Catholic Societies said:

"The Administration in this country has at last done something to insure the safety of our nuns and priests in Mexico from the brutal rapacity and barbarism of those savages who for more than a year past have conclusively proved their absolute unfitness to govern. But the good work is far from finished.

"And when the truth is known then all the world will realize **that for the sake of our public honor as a nation WE MUST PUT AN END TO THE MASONIC CONSPIRACY which has for two years deluged Mexico with blood, drained the material resources of that country and spread atheism and anarchy over a land once happy and industrious."***

Later, in 1915, when seven of the Pan-American Governments, including our own Government, were about to recognize the Carranza Government, the following cablegram was published throughout the United States:

"Rome, October 9, 1915.—Pope Benedict received in private audience yesterday the Most Rev. Francisco Orozoy Jiminez, Archbishop of Guadalajara, Mexico, together with Monsignor Francis C. Kelley of Chicago, President of the Catholic Extension Society **in the United States. The visitors presented an important plan in connection with THE CHURCH IN MEXICO.**

"The Pope showed a thorough knowledge of the situation as regards the Mexican clergy, **and praised the generosity of American catholics (the American Hierarchy) in the help they are giving their co-religionists (fellow priests) in Mexico."**

A few months later the following statement by Cardinal Gibbons was published throughout the land:

"They will never cease fighting in Mexico under Carranza. I have no confidence in the man. The situation is a crime against civilization. We have tried in every way to get help to those

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* For the history of the conflict between Liberal Societies and the Roman Catholic Hierarchy, consult *Political Romanism,* by Publicity Bureau for the Exposure of Political Romanism, C. Bradway, Manager. 400 pages. 75 cents in paper covers, $1.00 in cloth. Masonic Hall, New York, N. Y.

suffering from the warring factions in Mexico, and even now have $220,000 in hand to help them, but we cannot get it to them." (N. Y. Times, January 9, 1916).

On March 4th, 1916, the New York Times published excerpts from a Mexican pamphlet in which the Roman Catholic prelates in this country were charged with helping to finance a counter revolution in Mexico, to be conducted under General Diaz. The day following the publication of these charges an answer was made by Cardinal Farley, of New York City. His letter was published in full in the New York Times. He said:

"I frankly admit that I am opposed to this (Carranza) Government which has established itself by appealing to the worst elements in the country, and securing its power and ascendency in the early stages of its growth by disregarding every principle of justice and morality. **And I am confident that the day is not far distant when the great mass of the Mexican people will be released from the tyrannical yoke imposed upon them!"**

The counter revolution in Mexico under General Diaz was started as the pamphlet had predicted, but thus far it has failed. **The issue is now up to you, Mr. Voter. What are you going to do?**

Nearly a year ago several of the Roman Catholic papers referred this Mexican question to the voters. For example, in New Orleans the official organ of the Roman Catholic diocese, **The Morning Star**, said:

"Mr. Wilson's recognition of Carranza, the avowed enemy of the Catholic Church, is an insult to the Catholics in this country. It is a direct challenge to them, **and we hope that not only Catholics but every true lover of freedom WILL GIVE HIM SUCH AN OPEN ANSWER AT THE POLLS as will prove to him that no President of the United States can so flagrantly ignore the lawful and respectful request of 16,000,000 fellow citizens WITHOUT PAYING THE PENALTY."** (Current Opinion, Jan. 1916, p. 45.)

The facts are that the Roman Catholic prelates in our United States are opposed to President Wilson's re-election, and therefore are co-operating with the Republican Organization and with Big Business and inherently they are opposed to the Progressive Movement. Thus, the issue is squarely drawn.

CHAPTER II

The Reactionary Republican Campaign in Indiana.

In the New York **World** of October 16th, the following telegraphic letter by Louis Seibold, from Indianapolis, Indiana, says:

"The Republican plan of campaign has been predicated on the theory that with the assistance of the voters of Teutonic origin and those of the Catholic faith and sympathies, and with the union of the regular and Progressive factions of their party, they are sure of victory in spite of the heavy handicaps imposed by Mr. Hughes and Colonel Roosevelt.

"It is assumed by the Republican leaders, who are openly courting the hyphenate AND CATHOLIC VOTERS, that the influence to which voters of those classes ordinarily respond will lead them to rebuke the Democratic President for his refusal to surrender to the dictation of either.

Catholics and Mexico.

"The only interest displayed by voters in the relations of the Administration with Mexico has obviously been inspired by a propaganda inaugurated by professional Roman Catholic agitators. It is the view of unprejudiced observers that the leaders and spokesmen of the Catholic Church in Indiana are opposing the President because of his refusal to comply with their demands that he compel obedience by the Carranza regime to the ambitions of the church leaders, even if such insistence requires a resort to force and intervention.

This movement, which is assuming widespread proportions throughout the country, particularly in the West, is being extensively exploited by the Republican managers in Indiana.

An observer is informed that 'the church is opposed to Mr. Wilson'; that 'every priest in the country is secretly counselling his parishioners to vote for Mr. Hughes,' and 'that Cardinals Gibbons, Farley and O'Connell are fully aware of the undertaking and are in sympathy with it.' . . .

". . . No word has come from any of the dignitaries of the church to instance their disapproval of the uses to which the professional agitators, who assume to speak for it, are making of its influences.

Indiana is being flooded with literature intended to influence the minds of Catholic voters. A thick volume distributed by 'The Catholic Church Extension Society of the United States of America' contains some outrageous attacks on the President, questioning both his personal and official motives in dealing with the Mexican problem.

"It is entitled 'The Book of Red and Yellow,' and the authorship of it is credited to Francis Clement Kelley. It is published in Chicago and several Catholic clergymen are given as sponsors for it. The brochure has this sub-title: 'Being a Story of Blood and a Yellow Streak.'

"There is little question that this publication and others of a similar nature and purpose **have exercised considerable influence over the minds of a great many voters.**

"Henry Lane Wilson, former Ambassador to Mexico, is chief promoter of the Catholic propaganda against President Wilson. He has established himself here to direct it. Under his instruction literature, moving pictures and cart-tail oratory are being provided by the Republican campaign managers.

"The ex-Ambassador is confident that the majority of the Catholic clergy are antagonistic to the President. **He told one of his callers to-day that TWENTY-THREE OUT OF THE THIRTY CATHOLIC CLERGYMEN OF INDIANA WERE USING THEIR INFLUENCE AGAINST THE PRESIDENT AND IN THE INTEREST OF MR. HUGHES."**

CHAPTER III

Roman Catholic Prelates in the United States are fighting against freedom for the Philippine people, aided by Big Business and the Republican Organization.

An outline of Philippine history is set forth in our opening statement. The undisputed evidence shows that the Roman Catholic prelates in the United States are fighting against freedom for the Philippine people, aided by Big Business and the Republican Organization. The Republican platform is as follows:

RENEWAL OF CONQUEST IN THE PHILIPPINES.

"We renew our allegiance to the Philippine policy inaugurated by McKinley, approved by (a Republican) Congress, and consistently carried out by Roosevelt and Taft."

Here is a flat-footed declaration for the policy of Conquest and the holding of Subjects, the exact opposite of Republicanism and Democracy. The existing Democratic National Government has promised independence to the people of the Philippines, and more and more of their citizens are being placed in charge of their own government. On July 7, 1916, the Associated Press stated that "some of the biggest shifts in the personnel of the Government of the Philippines in recent years are now occurring. (N. Y. **Evening Post,** Aug. 5, 1916.)

The difference between aiding the people of the Philippine Islands to become free—self-governing as rapidly as they are able, under a promise of thus aiding them, and the opposite policy of conquest —the taking possession of a people as politi-

cal slaves and continuing to hold them as such, is of transcendental importance. **Only the reactionists or the misinformed have insisted that the promise of freedom be withheld. AND THE REACTIONISTS IN THIS COUNTRY ARE THE ONES WHO, THROUGH THE ILLEGITIMATE USE OF MONEY AND THE AID OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC HIERARCHY, HAVE FOR TWENTY YEARS OR MORE DOMINATED THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION AND THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS. ONE OF THE RESULTS WAS THE BUILDING UP OF THE VAST PRIVATE MONOPOLIES IN THIS COUNTRY, THE TRUSTS, THEREBY ROBBING OUR OWN PEOPLE.** But in 1910 these few lost control of the National House, and two years later, 1912, lost control of the Senate and the White House. That year the People made a clean sweep. Some of the changes in legislation that have since come about are described in this pamphlet.

This year is the first Presidential election since the Reactionists were turned out of power **and the subject matter of this year's Republican National Platform completely demonstrated the fact that these few dominated the Convention which put it forth.** One portion of this evidence is the declaration for the establishment of conquest in the Philippines; another portion of the evidence is the statement "We favor (towards Latin America) a continuance of Republican policies"—policies decidedly different from the New Pan Americanism; and a third section of the evidence is the declaration for the conquest of Mexico. We now present a fourth reactionary plank in the Republican platform.

Does Mexico Interest You?

Then you should read the following pamphlets:

What the Catholic Church Has Done for Mexico, by Doctor Paganel The Agrarian Law of Yucatán The Labor Law of Yucatán	$0.10
International Labor Forum Intervene in Mexico, Not to Make, but to End War, urges Mr. Hearst, with reply by Rolland The President's Mexican Policy, by F. K. Lane	0.15
The Religious Question in Mexico A Reconstructive Policy in Mexico Manifest Destiny	0.10
What of Mexico Speech of General Alvarado Many Mexican Problems	0.10
Charges Against the Díaz Administration Carranza Stupenduous Issues	0.10
Minister of the Catholic Cult Star of Hope for Mexico Land Question in Mexico	0.10
Open Letter to the Editor of the Chicago Tribune, Chicago, Ill. How We Robbed Mexico in 1848, by Robert H. Howe What the Mexican Conference Really Means	0.10
The Economic Future of Mexico	

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